1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER X

PRAYER

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In the chapters in which the ritual of the dairies has been described, one of the most important features of the ceremonial has been passed over which must now be fully described. This feature is the prayer which is always offered at certain stages of the dairy operations. In the village dairies, of whatever kind they may be, no prayer is offered at the morning ceremonial. In the evening the prayer of the dairy is recited twice—once when lighting the lamp, and once when shutting the buffaloes in their enclosure for the night, the prayer on this occasion being said in front of the entrance to the pen.

At the *ti* dairy the *palol* prays both morning and evening. In the morning he prays when lighting the lamp and after he has finished milking; in the evening prayer is offered on both these occasions, and also when shutting up the buffaloes for the night. The *palol* also repeats a few clauses when going out to milk. Prayers are said on certain other ceremonial occasions, and clauses from the prayers are frequently uttered during the many ceremonies of the dairy.

At the evening ceremonial of the village dairy the prayer is said when the lamp is lighted, while during the morning ceremonial, at which the lamp is usually not lighted, there is no prayer. This suggests that the prayer is especially related to the lamp-lighting, and that some idea of worship of the light is involved, but occasionally for some special reason, such as unusual darkness, the lamp may be lighted in the morning, and on these occasions the prayer is not said. Nevertheless, the relation between lamp-lighting and prayer

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both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

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The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pakvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

[195]

In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

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Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kwgvali* and *kwrvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

l: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

refused to discuss it. One point seemed quite clear, at any rate among the Teivaliol, viz., that the different villages of a clan had different prayers, though often with many clauses in common. 234 184 621

In general, the prayer of the *ti* is longer and more elaborate than that of the village dairy. Different prayers are used at different dairies of the same *ti*, though here again they may have many clauses in common. 782 788

In all cases the prayer consists of two distinct parts: a preliminary portion consisting chiefly of names known as *kwarzam*, followed by a portion which may be regarded as the prayer proper.

The prayer proper should be the same in every dairy, but it seemed to me that there was a good deal of laxity as regards this portion, and there is no doubt that it is often slurred over hastily and is less strictly regulated than the preliminary portion of the prayer.

The following is the most generally accepted form: 788

Tîwawad;	*Ârwalwad*;	*I- kurâ tîwawad*;
may it be well	may it be well	with the buffaloes and calves
or	*or*	may it be well;
may he be blessed;	may he be merciful;	
mâin ârâ wâ;	*karam ârâ wâ*;	*wudrî ârâ wâ*;
may there be no disease;	may there be no destroyer;	may there be no poisonous animals (snakes and insects);
kârol ârâ wâ;	*per kârt pâ wâ*;	*pazhk kârt pâ wâ*;
may there be no wild beasts (tigers, &c.);	may be kept from (falling down) steep hills;	may be kept from floods;
tât ârâ wâ;	*wâ wa wâ*;	*maj ca wâ*;	*pul pâw wâ*;
may there be no fire;	may rain fall;	may clouds rise;	may grass flourish;
nîr kr wâ,			
may water spring.			

The prayer then concludes with the names of two of the most important gods or objects of reverence, followed by the words:

Ârâkw	*kârî*	*wâ*	*tîwawad*.
these	for the sake of	for (or to) us	may it be well.

There does not seem to be any strict regulation as to the clauses of the prayer, and in different versions some of the 782 788

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given above were omitted, while others were added, especially requests for protection against special animals, as *pob ârk mâ*, "may there be no snakes," and *ptrzi ârk mâ*, "may there be no tigers." One man concluded with the words *erdâdrsink crdâdri ini*, "I know half to pray, I know not half to pray,"[1] but I do not know whether this was an individual peculiarity or a special feature of the prayer of his dairy.

It seemed clear that the whole prayer referred to the buffaloes. It may be summarised as follows:

"May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty."

The first part of the prayer contains a number of clauses each of which usually consists of the name of an object of reverence followed by the word *idith* (often contracted into *ith*). This word is said to mean "for the sake of," so that the prayer as a whole seems to consist of clauses mentioning a number of objects of reverence for the sake of which the prayer is said, followed by the prayer consisting of clauses directed to avert evils or bring blessings on the buffaloes of the dairy. The word *idith* is used in the sense of "for the sake of" in ordinary language. Thus, "for my sake, leave him," would be "*en idith, an pidr*" (me for the sake of, him leave).

The objects of more or less sanctity thus mentioned in the prayer are not called by their usual names, but are referred to by means of special names to which the general term of *kwarzam* is given. In some cases the *kwarzam* differs little from the ordinary name, while in other cases it bears no resemblance to it.

The *kwarzam* mentioned in the prayer fall into several groups: there are the *kwarzam* of the gods, of the buffaloes, of the villages, of the dairy and of its various parts, vessels and implements. In some cases, especially in the case of the *ti*, we shall find that different dairies differ in the prominence given to each kind of *kwarzam*; that the prayer of one place

[1] *Erd* means two, and this translation is a free rendering of the Toda words, though it probably conveys the proper meaning.

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consists chiefly of *kwarzam* of the dairy, while in the prayer of another the *kwarzam* of the gods or of the buffaloes predominate.

In some prayers there occur *kwarzam* of a special kind containing references to incidents in legend—incidents which occurred in the life of some deity especially connected with the dairy at which the prayer is used, or other *kwarzam* may refer to incidents in the history of the dairy or of the village in which the dairy is situated.

I had great difficulty in obtaining examples of the prayers, or rather of those portions consisting of the *kwarzam* of the sacred objects. There was little objection to giving the prayer proper; it was only when the *kwarzam* were approached that the difficulty arose. It was evident that it was this portion of the prayer which was regarded as especially sacred and mysterious, and this was doubtless due to the mention of sacred beings and objects by their sacred names.

With much difficulty I succeeded in obtaining the prayers of four village dairies, three belonging to the Kuudrol, while the fourth was the prayer, or part of the prayer, of the Kanòdrs *poh*. I was also successful in obtaining two *ti* prayers and fragments of others.

The Village Prayer

The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used in the dairy of the village of Kuudr, the *etudmad* of the Kuudr clan. On the left-hand side of the page are given the *kwarzam*, each of which is followed by the word *idith* when the prayer is uttered. On the right-hand side of the page are given the objects, beings or incidents to which the *kwarzam* refer.

Prayer of Kuudr

Ath'kûr	Kuudr village and probably also the Kuudr clan or Kuudro.
kuurs	Kuudr village.
paththdrpath	large dairy at Kuudr (*thdrpath*).
pathtthdpath	small dairy at Kuudr (*thdpath*).
thdrpathpath	lamp (*path*) of large dairy.
thdpathpath	all the sacred objects of small dairy.

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the *kwarzaw* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *ðtham idith emb thwmnd*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *etudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzaw* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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which are certainly of a religious character. It seems most likely that the word *idith* was at one time used especially in connexion with the names of gods, and carried with it some idea of supplication. Gradually other sacred objects were included in the prayer, the same form being used for them as for the gods, this inclusion being prompted by the belief that the mention of any sacred object might help to promote the efficacy of the prayer. Later, when any mysterious and seemingly miraculous incident occurred at a village, it seems to have become the custom to commemorate it in the prayer.

It is quite clear that at the present time the earlier portion of the prayer, consisting of the *kwarzam*, is regarded as more important than the latter portion, which reads like the actual prayer. I suspect even that in practice the prayer proper is often omitted, or that only the first two words, *tanenma, tarmama*, are said. There certainly seemed to be no very rigorous laws as to the exact number or order of the clauses of this part of the prayer. The earlier portion, on the other hand, is very strictly regulated, and the order in which the *kwarzam* are to be uttered is definitely prescribed. Certainly there is far more reticence in connexion with the *kwarzam*, and this may safely be taken to indicate that a higher degree of sanctity attaches to them than to the words of the prayer proper.

It is probable that the alteration in the relative importance attached to the two parts of the prayer would have to go little further in order to produce a state of things in which the Toda dairyman would use the first parts of the formulæ only, and an anthropologist visiting the Todas at this stage would find them using formulæ which would not be recognisable as prayer.

If, at the same time, the process of forgetting their mythology should also have advanced, the Todas would then provide an excellent example of a people using in their religious ritual meaningless forms of words, and the Toda *kwarzam* seem to furnish one way in which people may come to use such meaningless forms.

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CHAPTER XIII

SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS

782 IN this chapter various ceremonies will be described which may all be regarded as examples of propitiation of the higher powers by sacrifices or offerings. We shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies buffaloes are killed, but it is clear that there is no idea of propitiation or atonement connected with this slaughter, the animals being killed so that they may go to the next world for the service of the dead.

THE ERKUMPTTHPIMI CEREMONY

123 In this ceremony a young male calf is killed and eaten.
124 The ordinary name is *erkumptthpimi* (" male buffalo we kill ") or
782 *erkumptthiti*, but at the *ti* the ceremony is called *ernudrtipimi*.
786 I met with great obstacles in obtaining a satisfactory account, the men who had told me all the details of the dairy ceremonial denying at first all knowledge of any ceremony among the Todas in which a calf was killed or eaten. As soon as they found that I knew positively of the existence of the ceremony, they acknowledged that they killed a calf, but said they could not tell me anything about it. I succeeded at last in obtaining a record of the ceremony from Teitnir, and when I was endeavouring to identify the various parts into which the sacrificial animal is divided, we met with such difficulties[1] that Teitnir agreed to allow me to see the ceremony on the condition that I would provide the cost of the calf.

[1] Our final difficulty, the laughter over which seemed to overcome Teitnir's scruples, was in the identification of the spleen, which was described as "a little tongue."

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Owing to the general reluctance to talk about this ceremony, I was not able to obtain such independent accounts from other people as I should have liked, but the details of the sacrifice as given me by Teitnir agreed with those of the ceremony I witnessed, and I have no doubt as to its essential accuracy. I had hoped to have obtained independent evidence on some doubtful features at the end of my visit, but these hopes were entirely frustrated by the death of Teitnir's wife a few days after the ceremony which had been performed for my benefit, her death being generally ascribed to the anger of the gods because the secrets of *erkumpṭṭhpini* had been revealed. After I had left the hills, however, Samuel succeeded in obtaining information on several doubtful points, and was given an independent account which entirely confirmed the accuracy of the proceedings which he had witnessed at the same time as myself.

The ceremony is performed both at the ordinary village and at the *ti* dairy. At the *ti* there is no doubt that it is performed three times a year, but there was much discrepancy in the accounts of its frequency at the village. According to some, the sacrifice only takes place once a year at each village in October, soon after the ceremony of *teṭṭṭṭuṭṭhchi*, to be described later in this chapter. According to others, the ceremony is performed whenever the people have a suitable male calf to sacrifice. During the ten years that my interpreter, Samuel, had been living among the Todas, he had come to the conclusion that the ceremony is performed fairly often, his opinion being based on chance remarks made by the children. I think there is very little doubt that a calf is now killed in each village more often than once a year, and the ceremony at which I was present was almost certainly one of the occasional performances, though the time of year at which it took place makes it possible that it was the chief annual occasion of that village.

There was also some doubt whether there is an annual ceremony in every village for the people living in that village, or whether the annual ceremony is only performed in the *modhmol*, or chief village of each clan, for all the people of the clan. The true state of affairs at the present time is probably

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that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October. Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

The place at which the sacrifice is performed[1] is called the *ernkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *ernkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *ernkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

At the *ernkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over small firewood the people place several logs about three feet in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood must be of one or both of the kinds called *mais* and *kiil*. While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *karkekoi*, *kwadiki*, or *pokvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Erkumptshpini Ceremony -- Analyst]

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372 The first stage of the ceremonial is to make fire by friction,
782 which should be done by the *palikartmokh*. The only occa-
796 sion on which I saw fire made by friction during an actual ceremony was when I witnessed the sacrifice at Karia, and on this occasion both Punatvan and his chief assistant, Pichievan (69) of Keadr, twirled the firesticks alternately, but though they soon produced some smoke, they failed to light the rag

FIG. 37.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE FIRE AT THE 'ERKUMPITHPIMI' CEREMONY.[1]

used as tinder. My constant attendant, Kodrner, was called in, and with his more powerful manipulations was almost immediately successful, and the lighted rag was carried by Punatvan to the heap of firewood, which was soon in a good blaze.

782 As soon as the fire is alight the calf is brought to the
796

[1] This and the succeeding photographs were taken in a badly lighted wood, and represent the actual ceremony.

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782 *crnkar*, and the *palikartmokh* goes to cut a log of *tudr* wood
79% and three small branches of *tudr* leaves. The calf should be fifteen days old and must be without blemish. Its ears must not be split, its tail must not be cut, and its eyes must be clear.

The log of *tudr* wood is for the killing of the calf and is about four feet in length and about three inches in thickness. Such a log is usually called *tudrkud*, but on this occasion is named *erkumptthkud*. The three branches of *tudr* must consist of perfect leaves. Such branches are usually called *tudrkwunak*, but on the occasion of this ceremony they receive the name *toashtitudr*.

[192] The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the calf, holding the log and leaves in his right hand. He raises the log and leaves to his forehead as a salutation, and then recites the appointed prayer. This prayer is different for each clan and consists of clauses in each of which the *kwarzam* of one of the villages of the clan is followed by "——*k per md*." Thus the first clause of the Kuudr prayer is *atthkdrk per md*; *atthkdr* is the *kwarzam* of Kuudr, *k* is the suffix, meaning "to," and *per md* is "may increase" or "may there be increase." All the clauses of the prayer are of this form except the last two, which are *karstram parstram*; *Nòtirzk tr usht md*; the first of which is a *kwarzam* of Kulinkars, *tram* probably meaning buffaloes, while the second means, "may the buffalo appear to Nòtirzi." The calf is supposed to appear to Nòtirzi and then to go from the hill of this goddess to the hill of Kulinkars. The complete prayers of Kuudr and Kars are given on pp. 288, 289.

The *palikartmokh* touches the head of the calf with the *erkumptthkud* (Fig. 38) as he utters each *kwarzam* till he comes to the penultimate clause of the prayer, at which point he begins the following series of actions. He draws the three branches of *tudr* leaves along the back of the calf from head to tail and then drops one of the three *toashtitudr* on the ground behind the calf. The two remaining branches are drawn along the back of the calf from tail to head in the reverse direction to the first, and on reaching the head one of the two branches is dropped on the ground at the head of the animal.

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782 The remaining branch is drawn from head to tail and dropped
796 on the ground by the side of the first (see Fig. 39).

The animal is then killed by striking it on the head with the *erkumptthkud*. The *palikartmokh* then takes up the three *toashtitudr*, and, taking them in his right hand with the log, passes them round the calf three times. In doing this, the

FIG. 38.—PUNATVAN UTTERING THE 'ERKUMPTTHPUM' PRAYER. HE IS HOLDING THE 'ERKUMPTTHKUD,' AND ONE OF THE 'TUDR' LEAVES IN HIS HAND CAN BE DISTINCTLY SEEN.

body of the calf rests on its side, while the log and leaves are passed between the two fore-legs, then between the two hind-legs, round the hind-quarters, and forward over the back and head, so that they make a complete circuit of the animal, and this circuit is twice repeated, so that the log and leaves are passed completely round the calf three times.

The *palikartmokh* then proceeds to cut up the calf (Fig. 40),

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782 796 beginning with a complete incision round the neck. The knife used is of the ordinary kind called *turi*, but on this occasion it is called *ab*, or "arrow." On the occasion on which I saw the ceremony, the calf seemed to have only been stunned by the blow on the head and began to kick as soon as this incision was made. The animal was, in con-

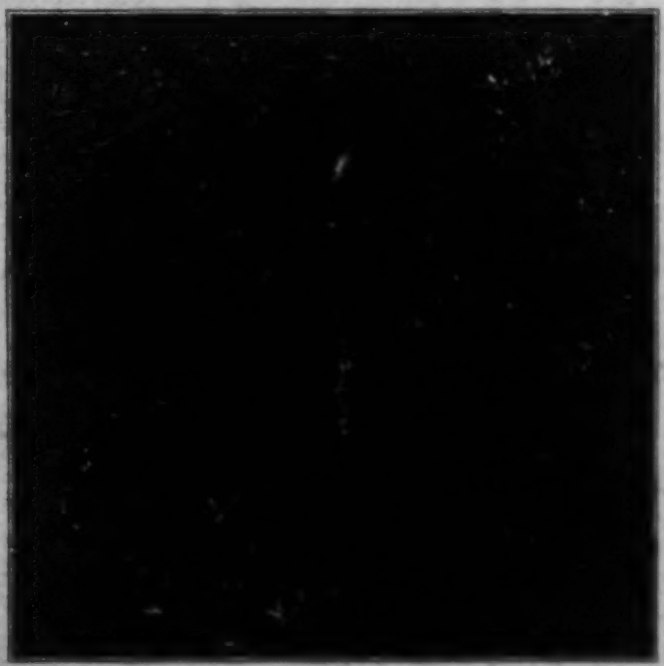

FIG. 39.—STROKING THE BACK OF THE CALF WITH THE 'TOASHTITUDR.' PUNATVAN IS BEGINNING THE THIRD MOVEMENT, AND ONE OF THE BRANCHES OF LEAVES CAN BE SEEN ON THE GROUND BEHIND THE CALF.

sequence, vigorously belaboured over the testicles with the log of *tudr* wood, and this was repeated till the movements of the animal ceased.

The next incision is down the mid-ventral line; incisions are made through the skin above each hoof, and the *palikartmaki* then removes the skin of the whole animal except the head and feet, beginning at the right fore-limb.

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782 When the skin (*tars*) is removed, it is laid on the ground
796 with its outer surface downwards a few yards from the spot at which the animal is being cut up, and the *palikartmokh* proceeds to cut the animal into the following parts:—

Kwelthkh, hoof and attached skin and bones.

Mogál, lower segment of fore-limb (metacarpus).

FIG. 42.—PUNATVAN AND PICHIEVAN CUTTING UP THE CALF. IN THE BACKGROUND KÖDENER IS SHARPENING UP THE 'KO.'

Kemal, or *kemalth*, upper segment of fore-limb corresponding to fore-arm.

Kanádri, shoulder.

Mídrkwolv, trachea and larynx.

Tódrthars, lower segment of hind-limb (metatarsus).

Pewutth, upper segment of hind-limb (leg).

Úrúf, liver.

Putth, gall-bladder.

Puskk, kidneys.

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Kwur, small intestine.
Tütkwur, large intestine.
Mulikudri, urinary bladder.
Agelv, pelvis, including thigh bones.
Mudri, sternum and part of ribs attached.
Nüds, heart.
Püth, lungs.
Kwotineráf (*kwotinûrûf?*), spleen.
Pâlvîr, stomach full of milk, called *pâlvetâr* when emptied of milk.
Mutelf, lower part of backbone with parts of lower ribs attached.
Nòdi, upper half of backbone with parts of upper ribs attached.
Mad, head.

The parts of the calf are removed approximately in the order in which they are given above. The *palikartmokh* first cuts off the four feet of the animal, beginning with that of the right fore-limb and the four *kweltikh* are placed under the skin, one at each corner.

The next part to be removed is the right *mogâl*, and then the three other corresponding parts. Up to this point, everything must be done by the *palikartmokh* himself, but after the *mogâl* have been removed any one may help, and on the occasion when I witnessed the ceremony, several operations were going on simultaneously after this point of the proceedings, and it became difficult to ascertain exactly what was being done and the exact order in which the parts were being removed. The cutting up of the calf was performed chiefly by Pichicvan, while the *palikartmokh*, Punatvan, occupied himself with other operations.

After the removal of the *mogâl*, the remaining parts of the two fore-limbs are removed and placed on the skin. The larynx and windpipe are taken out together, and in doing this the large vessels of the neck are divided. The body of the animal is then taken up and held over the skin, so that the blood runs out over the parts placed on the skin, and these parts are then moved about, so that they become smeared with blood, and are then placed on the stakes (*ko*),

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782 and each *ko* with its part of the animal is stuck in the ground
796 on one side of the skin. Some of the other parts when removed are rubbed in the blood on the skin.

When the different parts have been impaled in this manner, the *palikartmokh* cuts from each part a small piece of flesh called *mlis* and puts the pieces on a stake.[1] From the ribs and sternum, he cuts a part called the *tütmlis*, much larger

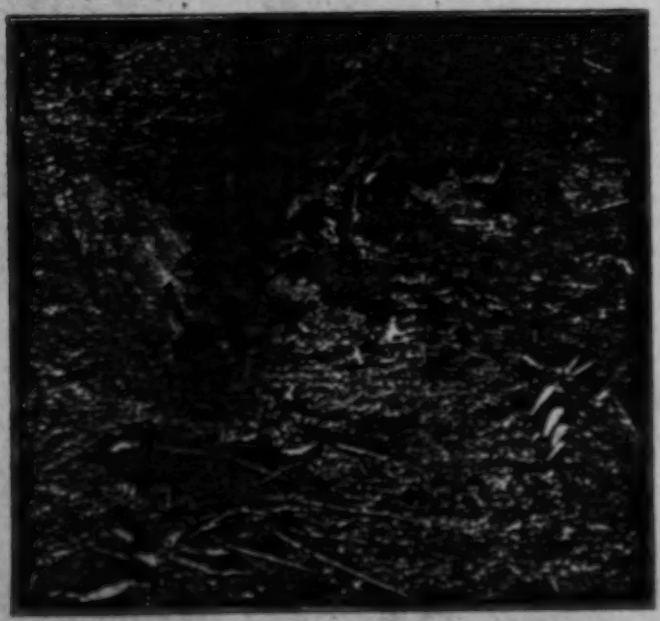

FIG. 41.—ROASTING THE PIECES OF THE CALF.

than the other fragments, and puts this on a stake. I could not ascertain exactly of what the *tütmlis* consisted, but it seemed to be the lower end of the sternum with some of the diaphragm attached to it.[1]

After cutting off the *mlis*, the *palikartmokh* begins to put the parts round the fire (Fig. 41), beginning with the *magdl*,

[1] The importance of the omentum in Indian animal sacrifices suggests that the *tütmlis* might have been the omentum, or have included part of the omentum. At this stage of the proceedings, so many operations were going on simultaneously that exact observation became very difficult.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

782 which are placed, one on each side, about the middle of the
796 fire, but rather nearer that end at which the head is to be placed later. The *mogdl* must be put in this position by the *palikartmokh* himself, but the other parts may be arranged in any order. While the *palikartmokh* is manipulating the parts first cut off and placing them round the fire, his assistants will be continuing the division of the animal. When the liver is taken out, the gall-bladder is cut from it and thrown on one side. The intestines are removed and put on stakes by transfixing every few inches of their length.

The small intestine is placed on more than one *ko*, while, so far as I could see, the large intestine is put on one stake. The urinary bladder is thrown on one side. The ribs are cut through nearer the back than the front, and the sternum and anterior parts of the ribs form one part, the *mudri*. It was from this part that the *tütmfis* was taken. The spleen is put on one side in order that it may be given to a cat, and its name is derived from this fact. The stomach when taken out of the body is filled with milk and in this state is called *pdlvtr*. Its contents are poured out and it then receives the name *pdlvetdr*.

As soon as the cutting up is completed and all the other parts have been placed round the fire, the head is put on a *ko*, and this is stuck in the ground at one end of the fire and about half a yard from it, and the four *kwelthkh* are placed on the ground round the head. Some of the parts placed round the fire may by this time have charred, and they are turned round so as to expose the opposite side to the flames.

The next step is to take up the head on its *ko* and place it in the middle of the fire for about a minute, after which it is replaced. The object of this is to singe the ears, which the *palikartmokh* then pulls off. He also takes certain fragments (*mfis*) from some of the other parts and throws them, together with the ears, into the fire, standing at one end, the opposite end to that at which the head is placed. He then takes three charred pieces of wood from the fire, and throws them over the fire and over the head, so that they fall beyond the latter, saying as he throws each time, "*Nöttrak per mä, mat!*" the

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last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf.

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tsitmlis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogól*, *agnir*, *mud*, and *kuwitkkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten.

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *erundrtipini*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *tsututwatkki* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kórup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mud* except Anto.

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *erukar* as at the village. At Módr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipúl.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaishwatti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pódrdrwai*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvu*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nódrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

[of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erumpithpini Ceremony — Ed.]

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234 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *erukur* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then returns to the *erukur*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tatmelu* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *erukur*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogdi*, *aguiv*, *mud*, and *kwalikki* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mirol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mud* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumpitkipimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kuti*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kuti* are spread some of the grass called *nerk*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pen*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schoenanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.
[2] ? *Elæo*.

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When Teitnir performed the *erkumpttilpimi* ceremony for my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful. 234

The *erkumpttilpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Harkness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*purr-gumpti*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Murry in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *hesu shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Murry, and myself. 114 782 796

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf. 773 782 796

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This sentence included the value of the calf four years hence!

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I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tadr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Ekkumpitthpini Prayer of Kuuds

This consists of classes of the form *Atikkarè per ma* in which the following *kwarums* of villages are mentioned: *Atikkàr* and *Ôsarr* (Kunds), *Kidadrr* and *Tsurukdri* (Ars), *Mudrar* and *Mrathi* (Ôdr), *Keidrdr* and *Karrath* (Melkrds), *Kwatsinarr* and *Kwatpadrd* (Kwdr), *Tsakkadrdrak* (Pirvesh), *Kwatsirdwarg* (Kwarg), *Tsurukdris* (Karis), *Pdrarrr* and *Thiadrdr* (Mizri). These are followed by the final two classes, *karrdram parrdram*, *Nôdrak ir wakt ond*.

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kundrol have each two *kwarums* and that two *kwarums* of Ôdr, a Nilgiri village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 89, note 11.

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The Kars Prayer

This consists of the *kwarzaw* of the villages of the Karsol followed by *-k per ond*, as in *Mutaskkitik per ond*, but in this case only one *kwarzam* is mentioned for each village. The following are the *kwarzaw* with the corresponding villages in brackets: *Mutaskkiti* (Kars), *Karudrners* (Kuzhu), *Kingners* (Kozhkor), *Kolokars* (Tarathirsi), *Norsmi* (Nasmilodr), *Kototers* (Toshtars), *Kosikkrs* (Korkars), *Kuzhkrwoddri* (Ishavadr), *Pidhkners* (Pidzhkwar), *Pokriners* (Pelethkwar), *Tarshidi*, *Tolli*, *Singi*, *Kotiar*. In the last four cases the *kwarzaw* and ordinary name of each village are the same. These *kwarzaw* are followed by *okkrzam meidjam*, *Nolirzk ir nokt ond*. The place of *kwrstram parstram* in the Kondr prayer is taken by *okkrzam meidjam*, the *kwarzam* of Teikirzi, but I do not know how far this is a special feature of the Kars prayer. It may be that the Tartharol have the latter formula. It is remarkable that the Karsol should omit *kwrstram parstram*, for it is the *kwarzam* of their *mokrodokki*, Kulinkars.

Several of the *kwarzaw* of this prayer are those of villages which no longer exist. The prayer thus preserves a record of Toda institutions which have entirely disappeared.

These prayers are also interesting as records of a number of village *kwarzaw*. It will be noticed that in many cases there is a considerable degree of resemblance between the ordinary name and the *kwarzam*; in other cases the words are wholly different.

In villages on the west side of the Paikara River the *paikartmokk* says, "*Teikkrzk ir nokt ond*," may the buffalo appear to Teikkars, instead of *Nolirzk ir nokt ond* as the last clause. Teikkars is merely another name for Kulinkars. The reason for the modification is probably connected with the fact that the calf would have to cross the sacred Paikara River in order to go to Nilgiri (Snowdon) on its way to Kulinkars.

I was unable, as usual, to obtain any information from the Todas on the significance of the *orkumpttiyini* ceremony, but the prayer offered before the calf is killed seems to make

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it clear that the idea underlying the ceremony is that of promoting the general welfare of the buffaloes. The actual words of the prayer are directed to bring about an increase to the various villages of the clan, but there is, I think, no doubt that in this prayer, all have the buffaloes especially in mind and that the meaning of the prayer is, "may the buffaloes of . . . increase!" The sacrifice of the calf would seem to be of that kind in which one is killed that the rest may prosper.

There is one feature of the sacrifice which might be held to be out of harmony with this suggestion—viz., that the sacrificed calf is a young male, and hence a comparatively worthless animal. The name of the ceremony means strictly "we kill a male buffalo,"[1] and it is possible that at one time an adult male was sacrificed, but even then the sacrifice would be of an animal comparatively little valued by the Todas. As we shall see, the animals killed at funerals are always female, but there is an obvious reason for this, as the buffaloes are to be of use to the dead person in the other world. Formerly large numbers of buffaloes were killed at funerals, and it is possible that it was found impracticable to use female buffaloes also for the *erkumpttkpini* sacrifice.

There is another possible reason for the use of male buffaloes. The flesh of the sacrificed animal is eaten, and it is possible that the Todas may have preferred to use for this purpose the less sacred male buffaloes, and not to risk any possible evil effects which might follow the consumption of the flesh of the females. It is probable that utilitarian motives have played the chief part in the choice of a male, but other more religious motives may have had some influence.

The Teutütusthchi Ceremony

782. This is an annual ceremony in which a fire is lighted at the foot of a hill by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The name *teutütusthchi* or *teutütusthtiti* means "god fire he lights." It

[1] I have some reason to think, however, that *er* may be used as a term for 'buffalo' in general, whether male or female.

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is performed in the month which the Todas call Tai, beginning with the new moon in October.

The two *palol* and the *kaltmokh* of the Nòdrs *ti* perform the ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the new moon, and make the fire in alternate years at the hills called Kòti and Puthi. The two *palol* of the Kars and Pan *ti* set fire together at the hill Kònto on the following Tuesday. This ceremony is not performed by the *palol* of either the Kwòdrdoni or the Nidrsi *ti*. In 1902 the Nòdrs *palol* went to the hill Kòti on the second Sunday after the new moon (October 12th).

The hills of Kòti, Puthi, and Kònto are said to be chosen because they are very high, and have the highest *teu*, who are spoken of as elder brothers.

The *palol* and *kaltmokh* set out when they have taken buttermilk after the morning work, abstaining from other food till the ceremony is over. They take with them the *nirsi* or fire-sticks, some leaves of *kakud*, a piece of *tuni*, and some dried grass from the thatch of the dairy. Each *palol* wears both the *pòdrshtuni* and the *kubuntuni*.

When they reach the foot of the hill they make a heap of firewood. They then spread the *kakud* leaves on a stone and powder the thatch of the dairy on the leaves, and each *palol* makes fire with the fire-sticks and lights the powdered thatch. Then the *kaltmokh* says, "*Teutütustht kina?*"—"Shall I light the god (or sacred) fire?"—and both *palol* answer "*Teutütustht!*" Then the *kaltmokh* takes the lighted thatch and applies it to the heap of firewood. As soon as the fire burns well, each *palol* takes off his *kubuntuni* and, standing some little distance from the fire, the two dairymen pray, using the usual prayer of the *ti* with the following additions:

Kòr	*pàv*	*mâ;*	*tein*	*pàv*	*mâ;*	*pom*
Young grass	flower	may;	honey	flourish	may;	fruit

purâ	*mâ.*
ripen	may.

After the prayer the dairymen and their attendant return to their dairies so as to be in time for the afternoon work.

The object of the ceremony is to make the grass and honey

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plentiful, as the additions to the prayer indicate. The Todas told me that in ancient times they lived largely on wild fruits, nuts, and honey, and that then the ceremony was of great importance. At the present time the Todas in general seem to take but little interest in the occasion, but its former importance is still shown by the fact that the Sunday and Tuesday on which the ceremony is performed are among the chief Toda feast days, when the people of every village eat the special kind of food which they call *ashkkartpimi*.

OFFERINGS

The ceremonies which have been described are sacrifices or offerings which occur at regulated intervals. *Teutütusthchi* is certainly an annual ceremony, and it is probable that *erkumptthpimi* was also originally an annual ceremony, though now it may be performed several times in the year. Even now, however, there seems to be little doubt that on one occasion in the year this ceremony is regarded as of special importance.

The ceremonies which remain to be described are of a different nature. They are mostly occasions on which offerings are made to avert or remove misfortune. Some are distinctly of the nature of sin offerings, but are only made when an offence which has been committed has brought some misfortune on the offender. In these cases the object of the offering seems to be propitiatory and to bring about the removal of the misfortune.

In other cases the offering may be made with the object of removing a misfortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer.

The simplest kind of offering is usually spoken of as *kwadr kwadrthpimi*—*i.e.*, we give *kwadr*. The word *kwadr* probably means gift, but seems now to be often used in the sense of 'fine.' The *kwadr* takes the form of a buffalo. When a man gives a buffalo in this way it means that he undertakes not to give or sell the buffalo to anyone and not to kill it at a funeral. The buffalo is to be allowed to die a natural death, but so long as it is alive the owner has the full use of the milk.

[1 The Teutütusthchi Ceremony; See pp. 290-291. — Analyst]

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given by the animal. The idea of this offering is that the buffalo is given to the gods, according to some, or to the Amatol or people of Amnòdr, according to others. I also heard it spoken of as if the buffalo were given to the man's father or grandfather (*pia*)—*i.e.*, as if it was not given to the Amatol in general, but only to the spirit of the giver's father or grandfather. It is possible that I have confused together two or more separate things, but so far as I could learn these cases resembled one another in that the owner was not allowed to kill or part with the buffalo.

When the man devotes a buffalo in this way he mentions the buffalo by name, saying that he gives it to the gods or to his fathers, and as a sign that he has done so he bows down before an elder and performs the salutation of *kalmelpudithti*.

This offering was made at the funeral of a child at which I was present, when the diviners found that a buffalo about to be killed was of the wrong kind, and said that Kuriolv, the father of the child, should give a buffalo. In this case the diviners said that a special buffalo called Perov was to be given. Kuriolv made a vow to give this buffalo and performed the *kalmelpudithti* salutation to Perner, the grandfather of the dead child. Another example of this offering will be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

IRNÖRTITI TO THE TI

Another kind of offering is to give a buffalo to one of the *ti* dairies. This is called *irnörtiti*, but must be distinguished from another kind of *irnörtiti* to be presently described. A man gives a buffalo to a *ti* when he has committed any offence against the *ti*. In one case in which I have a record of this kind of offering, the cause was the refusal of a man to become *palol* after he had promised to undertake the office. One of the results of my visit to the Todas was a wholesale sentence from the *teuol* that the people were to do *ti irnörtiti* (see p. 310).

The Tartharol may sometimes give buffaloes to the herds of a *ti* when they have not committed any offence against the dairy. This is done when the buffaloes of the *ti* have become

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234 very few in number, and this offering is also known as
431 *irnörtiti*, and is given with the same ceremonial as when an
782 offence has been committed.

The gift of a buffalo to the *ti* dairy must take place on a Thursday or Sunday. On the morning of the day the man making the offering, who is called the *irnörtpol*, abstains from food and goes to the *ti mad* with a female calf between one and two years of age. He may be accompanied by other men, usually those closely related to him. The men go to the outskirts of the dairy and wait there till the morning business of the dairy is concluded, each man carrying a green stick, either a *kwadrikurs* or *avelashkikurs*. When the *palol* has finished his work he goes towards the men on the outskirts of the dairy, also carrying a stick of the same kind, and as he approaches, the other men drive the calf towards him, and when it reaches the *palol*, he drives it so that it joins the buffaloes of his herd. The *palol* then gives food to the *irnörtpol* and his companions, who eat it on the spot, where they remain till after sunset, when they return home. If the calf given belongs to the *putiir*, it becomes one of the *punir* of the *ti*, but if it is of one of the sacred kinds, *pasthir*, *wursulir*, &c., it joins one of the sacred herds of the *ti*.

Irnörtiti, Tuninörtiti and Pilinörtiti

782 We now come to three kinds of offering, with their attend-
796 ant ceremonial, which are of a much more complex nature.
618 These are *irnörtiti*, *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti*, in which the
673 offerings are a buffalo calf, a piece of the cloth called *tuni*,
688 and a silver ring respectively. The first two offerings are made only when one of a certain number of recognised offences has been committed, and in order to bring about the removal of some misfortune which has befallen the offender. *Pilinörtiti*, on the other hand, is usually performed to bring about the cessation of some ill-fortune which is not due to any fault on the part of the sufferer, but it may also be done in expiation of an offence.

One essential feature common to all three offerings is that

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the primary divisions of the clan called *kudr* (see p. 542) here become of importance.

Nearly every Toda clan is divided into two *kudr*, and the offerings in the three ceremonies always pass from one *kudr* to the other. The offering which is given by a man of one *kudr* becomes the property of the members of the other *kudr*. At the present time the *kudr* is of no importance except in connexion with these ceremonies, and, so far as I could learn, it never had any other significance. There are a few clans of recent origin which have no *kudr*, and members of these clans cannot make the offerings. In other clans, one *kudr* has become extinct, and so long as no occasion for these ceremonies should arise, nothing is done to supply the deficiency. As a general rule, it is only when some trouble arises which may require one or other of these ceremonies that a redistribution of the members of the clan is made, and it is decided that one or more of the *pòdu* or smaller sub-divisions of the clan shall be constituted a new *kudr*.

The following are the chief offences for which the *irnörtiti* or *tuniörtiti* ceremonies have to be performed:—

(i) Stealing milk, butter, buttermilk, or ghi from the dairy.

(ii) Going to the dairy after having had intercourse with a woman in the day-time.

(iii) Quarrelling between people of the same clan on a feast day.

(iv) Quarrelling in the dairy.

(v) Going to the dairy after visiting the seclusion-hut for women (see Chap. XIV).

(vi) Going to the dairy after taking food with a man who has been to the seclusion-hut,

(vii) Going to the dairy after throwing earth at a funeral (see Chap. XV).

(viii) Going to the dairy after chewing tobacco.

(ix) Buying or selling buffaloes on the *madnol* or sacred day of the village or on the *palinol*, the sacred day of the dairy (see Chap. XVII).

(x) Driving buffaloes from one place to another on these days.

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Going to the buffaloes or touching the buffaloes is an offence of the same rank as going to the dairy.

The general name for all these offences is *paliwörtvichi*; they are all regarded as offences against the dairy.

For the first three of the offences it is customary that the *irnörtiti* ceremony shall be performed. For the last seven *tuninörtiti* is more usual. For the fourth offence the punishment varies according to the status of the offender. If he is a *palikartmokh*, he usually has to give the *tuni* only, but if an ordinary man he may be ordered to give a buffalo. It is a far smaller punishment to give a piece of cloth worth about one rupee four annas than to give a buffalo calf, and it would seem therefore that the first three offences are regarded as more serious than the last seven. It would seem also that if a dairyman quarrels in his dairy it is regarded as a less serious offence than in the case of an ordinary man.

The decision as to which ceremony shall be performed rests with the *teuol* or diviner, but although a diviner usually follows the rules I have given, it seems that he may order otherwise, and if he does so I was told that his decision would be followed. I have a very strong impression, however, that if a diviner ordered a man to do *irnörtiti* for one of the more trivial offences, the offender would take further advice and consult another *teuol* before obeying.

There were several other offences for which it was said by some that a man might have to perform *irnörtiti* or *tuninörtiti*; thus, if a dairyman gave up his office on any but one of the appropriate days of the week he might be ordered to do *irnörtiti*, and the same penalty might be incurred if a man assumed office on a wrong day. Similarly a dairyman might have to perform one of these ceremonies if he spoke to a woman in the day-time, and probably if he broke any other of the laws regulating his conduct or made any serious mistakes in carrying out the ritual of his office. One occasion for *irnörtiti* was said to arise if anyone crossed the Paikara or Avalanche rivers on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, but this is certainly a dead letter at the present time (see p. 418).

There was some difference of opinion about the penalty for buying, selling, or driving buffaloes on the *arpatznol*, or day

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on which the father of a man had died. According to one account, the proper penalty for this is that the offender should give a buffalo to his ancestors—*i.e.*, that he should name a buffalo which he would neither kill at a funeral nor sell to others.

In one definite case, however, it appeared that driving buffaloes from one village to another on the *arpatsuol* had been one of the offences for which a man had been ordered to do *irnörtiti*. In this case, however, other faults had been committed, and it is possible that if driving buffaloes on the *arpatsuol* had been the only offence a slighter penalty would have been inflicted.

The ceremony of *irnörtiti* was performed thirty years ago after the disappearance of the sacred bells of the Kars *kudrpali*. In this case the diviners were consulted, and they found that the bells had gone away and would not return. It was thought, however, that the *palikartmokh*, Kakarsiolv, might have committed some offence against the dairy, or have made some mistake in the performance of his duties, and it was thought best that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, though, so far as I could learn, it was not directly prescribed by the diviners.

As we shall see, the *irnörtiti* and *piliuörtiti* ceremonies may have to be performed as expiation for revealing the secret lore of Toda institutions, but this is an innovation in custom for which I am afraid I was indirectly responsible.

It does not seem that the penalties with their attendant ceremonies are inflicted merely because it is known that a man has committed any of the recognised offences. It is only when some misfortune befalls a man which obliges him to have recourse to the diviners that the ceremonies are performed.

The usual course of events is that a man, his wife, children, or his buffaloes fall ill, or the buffaloes will not give milk or kick their calves, or the milk in the dairy will not coagulate properly. Whenever any of these ills happen the man concludes that for some reason the gods are angry with him and he goes to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

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753 The diviners may find that the man's misfortunes are due
792 to the action of a sorcerer, or that he has committed some
787 offence against the dairy, possibly some offence which it is
688 well known he is in the habit of committing. The diviners
796 not only announce the cause or causes of the misfortune, but also give information as to the course to be pursued to remove it. If the diviners decide that an offence has been committed and that one of the ceremonies should be performed, the offender goes on the following Sunday to the dairy or dairies of his village and makes a vow that he will perform the ceremony which has been ordered. The following is probably a typical instance. Ten years ago Kòdrner fell ill and one of his buffaloes died. He and his brother consulted the *teuol*, who said that they had bought things (*i.e.*, given money from the village) on Mondays and Thursdays, the *suaduol* or sacred days of Kars and Kuzhu. They had also driven their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on their *arpatznol*; there had been sickness among the buffaloes and they had driven them to Isharadr without thinking that it was the *arpatznol*. The *teuol* said they must do *irnörtiti*, and on the following Sunday Kòdrner went first to the *kudrpali* of Kars (Tarziolv) and then to the *wursuli* (Karziolv) and made the following vow at each :—

Iv kar	*ulidmâ,*	*pîrzâ*	*ulikkâ en,*	*irnörtkin*
Buffalo calf	may it be well,	illness from	be well I,	buffalo will I give,

or "May the buffaloes and calves become well, may I recover from my illness, I will give a buffalo." [1]

688 From this account it seems clear that the ceremony of
792 *irnörtiti* is not a mere punishment for offences committed. If
783 a man commits any of the recognised offences habitually and
673 with the knowledge of the whole community, it does not
796 appear that anything is done. Only when some severe misfortune befalls the offender does he appeal to the diviners to learn how he has offended and how he can atone for his fault. He gives the buffalo with the definite idea of recovering from the illness or removing any other ills which his

[1] From the nature of this formula it might be expected that the ceremony would only be performed if the man's wishes are fulfilled, but, in practice, I think it is clear that the performance is not conditional on the recovery of himself or his buffaloes.

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688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
673 consequences and it is made in order to remove these
796 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence committed. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *pâlol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

The Irnörtiti Ceremony

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

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619 796 621 "*Tuniörtpol bon!*"—"Cloth giving man, come!" The *tuniörtpol*, who is standing at an appointed spot not far off, goes to the dairy, lays the *tuni* at its threshold, and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead. While he is doing this the *palikartmokh* prays in the inner room of the dairy and the men staying at the village pray in the outer room. Then the *tuniörtpol* enters the dairy and is given buttermilk and food by the *palikartmokh*, after which he stays in a wood near the dairy all day and returns to the village where he is living after night-fall. The people of the receiving *kudr* stay at the village for a month, at the end of which they have a feast and then all return to their own villages.

PILINÖRTITI

782 783 688 796 618 621 In this ceremony a man gives a silver ring. The offering is differentiated from those already described in that it may be given to bring about the removal of misfortunes which are not due to any offence committed by the man. In some cases, however, the ceremony may be undertaken as an atonement for an offence. Kòdrner, my guide, had to give a ring to the dairy at Kiudr in the general distribution of penalties which followed my visit.

The custom of *pilinörtiti* is limited to certain villages or clans. According to some accounts it is only followed at the villages of Kiudr and Kanòdrs, noted for the special sanctity of their dairies. According to others the ceremony is performed by the Karsol at the dairy of Kuzhu, and at Nidrsi I was shown a small stone, almost completely buried in the ground, which was called the *pilinörtkars*, and this indicates that the ceremony was also at one time performed at this village. The ceremony is certainly of especial importance at Kiudr, and the following description is of the procedure at this place.

782 783 618 796 If a man has no children, or if he becomes ill, or if his buffaloes give no milk, he may make a vow to do *pilinörtiti*. If he is a member of the Kuudrol, the people of the *kudr* to which he does not belong go to the dairy. The offerer of the ring sleeps the night before in the dairy of his village and goes

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in the morning with one companion to Kiudr, taking care that no one sees him by the way. Both must go without food.

On reaching Kiudr the two men go to the stream called Keikudr[1] which flows between the dairy and the dwelling-huts, and after washing hands and face in the stream they wait there. The people of the other *kudr* who are in the dairy light a lamp and place it between the two rooms, and then one goes to the door of the dairy and calls out three times "*Pilisörtpol hon!*" The men at the stream are not within sight, but they hear the summons and come to the front of the dairy. The men in the dairy lay the *tuni* of the dairyman at the threshold and the *pilisörtpol* places the ring on the cloth and bows down, touching the cloth with his forehead, and prays as follows:—

Tïnemnd,	*Ärmdnd*;	*atrk*	*kar*	*tï*	*mï*,	*atrk*	
May it be well,	may it be well;	little	calf	give	may,	little	
mukk	*tï*	*mï*;	*kar*	*kulïth*,	*kar*	*kuleiti*	*tï*
cow	give	may;	calf	not refuse milk,	calf	take milk	give
mï,	*kar*	*mettïk*,	*mettïl*	*tï*	*mï*;	*ephth*	*ötm*
may,	calf	not kick away,	stand	give	may;	once	meal
ïthï	*panrod*	*kunr*	*ortï*	*mudï*;	*nï*	*ärk mï*;	
it is	twelve	years	vow	will;	may there be	no disease;	
mudri	*ärk mï*;	*kasun*	*ärk mï*;	*pur*			
may there be	no trouble;	may there be	no *kasun*;	may there be			
ärk mï.							
no Tamil.							

The free rendering of this prayer was said to be as follows:—

"May it be well; may my buffaloes have calves; may I have children; may my calves have milk, and may they not be kicked away by their mothers; as surely as I am shortly to take food, do I make my vow for ever and ever; may I and my buffaloes be free from disease; may there be no evil befall me; may there be no *kasun* (see p. 403) to kill me; may no Tamil or other outsiders come to disturb me."

The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted:

[1] This is mentioned in the prayer of the Kiudr dairy (see p. 290).

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The last clause was said by Samuel to be interpreted!

"Let me not get into trouble with the government," but it is probably much older than this interpretation would indicate, and refers to the former dislike of the Todas to any intercourse with people other than the Badagas and Kotas. "Twelve years" is a common expression for an indefinitely long time, and may be translated "for ever." The practice of combining positive and negative sentences as in this prayer is one which seems to be not uncommon in the Toda language. It will be noticed that several of the clauses are identical with those of the prayer ordinarily used in the dairy.

When the *pilinörtpol* has finished his prayer he rises, and the *palikartmokh* takes up the *tuni* and the ring and puts them in the dairy. Then the *pilinörtpol* and his companions go into the outer room of the dairy and take food prepared by the dairyman, after which they go to a wood near Kiudr and stay there till after nightfall, when they make their way home, taking care not to be seen by anyone.

If the ring is given by one of the Kuudrol it becomes the property of the men of the other *kudr*, but as its value is very small, only from four annas to two rupees, it is not divided, but is usually taken by the man of the *kudr* who takes the chief part in the ceremony.

The ceremony as described above resembles those of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti*, in that the offering is given by a man of one division of the clan to the members of the other division.

Pilinörtiti may also be undertaken by a man as an atonement for wrong-doing, and in the only case of the kind of which I know, the wrong-doer, although he belonged to the Kars clan of the Tartharol, had to make the offering to Kiudr. In this case there was no question of the ring passing from one *kudr* to another, and it probably became the property of the man connected with Kiudr who took the chief part in conducting the ceremony.

Various unfortunate events which occurred during my visit to the Todas illustrate very well the working of the regulations which have been described in this chapter. One of these misfortunes befell Kutadri, who went with me to visit the Kundahs, the headquarters of the Pan clan. Mr.

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Mackenzie, with whom I was staying, had shot a sambhar, and Kutadri joined others in making a hearty meal on the flesh of the animal. The next day he felt far from well, and searching in his mind for the cause of his sufferings, his suspicions did not fall on the sambhar, but wavered between sorcery of the Kurumbas and the anger of the gods of the locality, because he had shown me certain sacred features of the land. He was unable to continue to act as my guide, rendering my visit to the Kundahs largely fruitless, and on his return home he frightened himself into serious illness.

Teitnir, who had told me many things, but, above all, had dared to show me the *erkumpttkpimi* sacrifice, lost his wife a few days after this ceremony. She had given birth to a dead child, and in spite of obviously serious fever, she had gone through a trying ceremony connected with removal to the seclusion-hut, and had walked a long way to this hut. Two days later she died.

Kaners, who had been my chief informant on the procedure of the *ti* dairy, awoke one morning to find the dairy of his village burnt. No human agency seemed possible, and no doubt was entertained that it was another manifestation of the displeasure of the gods.

Numerous councils were held, and the diviners were consulted, on this occasion Midjkudr and Tadrners. They found that Kutadri's misfortunes were due to his having revealed to me secrets about Pan, although, as a matter of fact, his illness had prevented his telling me anything of importance. It was decided that he was to give a buffalo to the Pan *ti*.

The death of Teitnir's wife was found to have two causes.[1] The first was that Teitnir had shown me the *erkumpttkpimi* ceremony; the second was that he had gone with his wife to Lake View, the house of the Zenana mission, and had stayed there for several months, Teitnir having done this in order to avoid losing his wife according to the *tererstki* custom (see Chap. XXII). For the first offence Teitnir was to do *irnörtiti* to his clan, the Kuudrol, and for the second offence he was to give a buffalo to the Amatol,

[1] According to a later finding of the *tasol*, the death of Tersveli was due to sorcery (see p. 261).

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753 his *pis*, or grandfather, being especially singled out among
761 them. The latter penalty was paid before I left the hills.
688 Teitnir devoted a sacred buffalo (*pasthir*) to his grandfather,
782 and as a sign that he had done so, he did *halmelpudithti* to
783 Ivievan (52), one of the chief men of his family. The giving of the buffalo was followed by a feast.

123 The *teuol* were also consulted on account of the burning of
782 the dairy belonging to the village of Kaners. They decided
783 that the loss of the dairy was due to spontaneous combustion,
777 "had burnt of itself," because Kaners had revealed to me the
688 secrets of the *ti*, and, as he had told me chiefly the procedure of the Nòdrs *ti*, he was sentenced to do *irnörtiti* to this institution.

Kòdrner, who had been my general assistant, was directed to perform *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr, and the *teuol* also said that all the Todas were to do *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairies because the elders had not intervened and put an end to the revelations which the people had been making to me.

123 Unfortunately these decisions of the *teuol* were only given
796 out very shortly before I left the hills. Indeed, the divination
783 appeared to be still going on when I left, probably in order to
688 obtain further light on the troubles. I had therefore no
782 opportunity of witnessing the various ceremonies which were to result from my visit. I hoped that Samuel might have been able to see some of them, but the only proceedings of which he was able to give me any account took place on January 5th, nearly a month after my departure, when all the Todas assembled at the *ti mad* of Mòdr, where the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were standing, and prayed to the *ti* to pardon them for the sins they had committed in revealing its secrets. After praying, they took food in the *pül* of the dairy, and did not return home till the evening. I was not told of the existence of any such ceremony of atonement by prayer only, and I strongly suspect it was an innovation adopted in order to avoid the expense of the general *irnörtiti* to the *ti* which the diviners had prescribed.

783 Several of the offerings which were thus ordered by the
688 *teuol* seem clearly to have been of the nature of punishment.
796 Kòdrner was to do *pilinörtiti* because he had helped me, and
782

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the Todas in general were to give buffaloes to the *ti* dairies. When I was first told about these offerings, I was inclined to regard them in general as punishments and to treat them as if they were social regulations. With further knowledge it seemed clear that they were distinctly of a religious nature, and were really sin offerings designed to propitiate the gods and bring about the removal of misfortunes which had come upon the offenders. I have therefore described these offerings in the same chapter as the ceremony which is clearly a sacrifice.

The variety of the *irnörtiti* ceremony in which a buffalo is given to the *ti* dairy is that which approaches most nearly to a sacrifice; the offered animal is not killed, but in going to the sacred herd of the *ti*, it may clearly be regarded as devoted to the service of the gods. The ceremony of *pilinörtiti* to the sacred dairy of Kiudr is again an example of an offering to a higher power in those cases in which the ring is given by a man of another clan so that the mechanism of the *kudr* does not come into play.

These clear examples of offerings to gods or sacred places are, however, very closely related to the other cases in which offerings simply pass from one division of the clan to another. It seems that we have in these offerings a good example of something which is midway between a social regulation of the nature of punishment and a definitely religious rite of propitiation of higher powers.

There are two chief possibilities. The idea of offering to a higher power may be primary, and the ceremonies of *irnörtiti*, &c., in which the property merely passes from one division of the clan to the other may be secondary modifications to keep property within the clan. On the other hand, the mechanism of the *kudr* may be primary, and *irnörtiti* to the *ti* dairy and *pilinörtiti* to Kiudr may be religious developments of what was originally a social regulation.

I have no information which enables me to say that one of the two possibilities is more probable than the other. The solution probably depends on the much larger question, whether the Todas are people whose religious system has developed out of the state of many primitive people where

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social regulations exist without anything which can clearly be called a religious sanction, or whether they are a people whose religious system has degenerated from one higher than that they now possess.

If the former supposition is correct, it is probable that the religious sanction has been added to the system of social punishment, which seems to be all which clearly exists in the offerings when these are kept within the clan. If the latter supposition is correct, it seems more likely that the whole mechanism of the *kudr* is a device by which offerings which should be made to a higher power may remain the property of the clan.

The fact that the giving of the buffalo or other offering is accompanied by prayer and the various restrictions of a more or less religious nature which accompany the ceremonial show that at the present time the ceremony has in all cases a very definitely religious character, but it is quite possible to regard these features in two ways, either as accretions to a system of social punishment or as vestiges of what was once a purely religious sacrifice in which the offerings were given to the gods.

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There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral are supposed to go to Amnódr with the dead person. Sacred buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this, have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1] 764 234 782 775

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind of dairyman, the *paiol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals the *tmrzol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the sacred buffaloes and with the *tmrz*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *kaiirir* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tadr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *tmrzol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present. 764 234 793 771

Among the Teivaliol, the *paliidrtmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *tmrz* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *paliidrtmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the *Nódrs* clan.

The facts that the *tmrzol* takes part in the funerals of men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 764 234 793

[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognized custom to use such animals. Fidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Fidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

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Nōdrs *ti* is the direct successor of the god On, but to whatever extent On may have passed on his divine character to his immediate successors, there is little doubt that at present the *palol* has lost any divinity which may at one time have been ascribed to him.

It is very difficult to ascertain how far at the present time, according to Toda belief, the gods intervene in human affairs. Each clan is believed to have its *nōdrvalki*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nōdrvalki* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler. Thus Teipakh is connected with both Piedr and Kusharf, Atioto with both Kwōdrdoni and Pedrkars, while Etepi, who is the *nōdrvalki* of Keradr, and Kuskarv, the *nōdrvalki* of Keadr, are almost certainly one and the same deity. In the two latter cases a Tarthar clan has the same god as a clan of the Teivaliol.

Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nōdrvalki* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo. The Todas certainly believe that misfortunes are due to the anger of the gods. It is clear that the various offerings described in Chapter XIII are piacular and propitiatory. They are designed to atone for wrong done and to avert any future evil consequences of the offence which has been committed.

The power of the gods is believed to show itself in various ways. In several cases dairies have been disused because the dairymen have died in office, and this was said to have happened because the gods of those places were severe. It was apparently believed that they had visited infringements of the laws regulating dairy ritual with death.

The various misfortunes which befell different members of the community as the result of my visit were all ascribed to the anger of the gods. Again, the untoward incidents of the funeral of Sinerani (see p. 391) were ascribed to the anger of the gods because there had been an infringement of funeral custom. These and other cases show clearly that

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776 the gods are held to be the source of punishment for sins
782 committed by the Todas, and that they may be appeased by offerings.

776 Each of the *ti* dairies has connected with it many deities
782 whose names are especially mentioned in the prayers, and it is
788 probable that for infringements of their ritual these gods are the avenging deities.

The attitude towards the gods shown by the formulæ used in the dairy ceremonial has already been considered. Though there is no direct evidence in these formulæ that there is actual supplication to the deities, it is almost certain that this supplication is implied. The formulæ used in other Toda ceremonies have the same general form as those used in the dairy ritual; and here, again, though there is no direct appeal to deities in the words of the formula, such appeal is almost certainly implied. The formulæ of the various ceremonies of the Todas are almost certainly of the nature of prayers in which the gods are asked to give blessings and avert evils. Apart from the formulæ of the definite ritual, there seems to be no doubt that the Todas offer supplications to their gods for help and protection.

754 In the formulæ used in Toda sorcery appeal to the gods is
776 even more definite than in the prayers of the dairy ritual. In them the names of four most important gods are mentioned, and it seems quite clear that the sorcerer believes that he is effecting his purpose through the power of the gods.

776 Another definite way in which the gods of the Todas are
787 believed to intervene in human affairs is in divination. During
791 the frenzy into which the *teuol* or diviners fall they are believed to be inspired by the gods. The diviners are chiefly consulted in the case of misfortune, and they are believed to reveal the reasons for the divine displeasure which has been the cause of the misfortune, and to communicate the ways in which the gods may be appeased. The diviners are believed to be directly inspired by the gods, and their name, *teuol*, or "god men," shows how definitely this belief is present in the Toda mind. In this case each diviner is believed to be inspired by a special deity, though sometimes more than one deity may reveal himself by the same man.

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by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this domination has taken a form in which ritual has become all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degenerated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

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771 778 782 786 182 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 788 182 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 771 784 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

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is regarded as the ruler of this world; she is mentioned in many of the sacred formulæ, and of the occasional *kwarsam* uttered by the Todas on various occasions by far the most frequent are those of Teikirzi Tirshti.

Teikirzi is undoubtedly the most important Toda deity, and yet she is not so pre-eminent that she can be said to be in any way a supreme god. Though she is the ruler of this world, it is Ön who rules the world of the dead.

Influence of other Religious Systems

The Todas show undoubted signs of the influence of Hinduism on their religion. It would be quite easy for a visitor to the Todas to talk to some of the younger and more sophisticated men and to go away believing that the Todas differed little from the surrounding tribes in their religious beliefs. In my first conversation with the Todas on religious matters I was told that they worshipped the following six gods:—Nanjandisparan, whose temple is at Nanjankudi in Mysore; Petkon or Betakarasami, whose temple is at Gudalur; Punilibagewan, whose temple is called Punilikudi and is near Cheirambadi; Mari, a female deity, with a temple called Marikudi near Pokapparam; Magòli, another female deity, with a temple near Kodanad on the Nilgiris, and Karmudrangan,[1] whose temple is near Mettapollayam.

Four or five of these gods are probably Hindu deities, while Magòli may be a deity of the Kurumbas or Irulas. At the present time there is no doubt that their temples are visited by the Todas and offerings made to them. The most frequent motive for these offerings appears to be the desire for children. The Todas now pray to these gods, most commonly for this purpose to Nanjandisparan, Magòli or Karmudrangan, and if a child is born it is taken when one year old to the temple, its head is shaved, and an offering, usually in the form of an image of the child, given to the priest. Rice is also given, sufficient, it is said, to feed 101 men, and the proceedings are said to cost the Todas from 40 to 100 rupees.

[1] These were the names given to me by the Todas, and their spelling may not correspond with that in ordinary use.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

776 782 from 40 to 100 rupees. They have a rule that, however much money they take away with them from their villages, all must be spent and none brought back.

If the Todas wish to obtain more buffaloes they offer silver images of these animals to the temples.

177 776 782 771 I do not know how long these Hindu gods have been worshipped by the Todas, but my informants were emphatic that Nanjandisparan and Petkon had been worshipped by the Todas for very long, and that annual offerings of small sums were made to them by every Toda family.

This worship and appeal to Hindu deities appears to me to have gone on side by side with the proper religion of the Todas, but to have influenced it little. It shows how people of low culture make use of the gods of other races as well as of their own, and in the same way I believe that the Todas reverence the gods of Badagas, Kurumbas, or any other of the tribes with which they have dealings, and if asked point-blank if the gods of these people are their gods they will assent.

It is probable that Hinduism is now having more influence on the Todas than ever before, and, as I have already pointed out, I believe that the reverence to Swami and the frequent utterance of his name is a sign of the increasing influence of Hinduism, perhaps combined with that of Christianity.

177 797 771 Christianity has so far had no appreciable influence. The Church Missionary Zenana Society has for some years employed two catechists to work among the Todas, and one of them, Samuel, who by the kindness of the Society was allowed to act as my interpreter for a large part of my stay, ought to have been successful if earnestness and honesty are of any avail, but his efforts, carried on for ten years, had borne very little fruit.

In the whole of the mythology and ceremonial there are few features which suggest the probability of Christian influence, and the chief of these is the incident in the legend of the origin of mankind where woman is created from a rib taken from the right side of a man. It is very unlikely that this is a recent accretion to the legend, and, if it is due to Christian influence, I think it must have arisen long ago. We

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

302 765 rolls," and the second man in Fig. 61 is wearing his hair in this fashion, a girl of his clan having died not long before, whose second funeral ceremonies had not yet taken place.

302 782 Another method of wearing the hair is shown by the third man in Fig. 61. This method is called *mad nadrk vai*, "head (or hair) long to who." It is adopted by anyone who

FIG. 62.—TILIPA (12) WEARING HIS HAIR LONG ON ACCOUNT OF A VOW MADE AT A HINDU TEMPLE.

has made a vow. In Fig. 62 another man is shown in the same condition, but his head has a different appearance owing to the fact that he has tied two locks behind in order to keep the long hair away from his face. This tying back has no other significance.

302 Women wear their hair as shown in Figs. 3 and 11, in long ringlets, and there do not appear to be any differences in

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Malabar it is probable that they came by one or other of these paths.

194
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There are two other districts which have some claim to be considered as possible places from which the Todas may have migrated—*viz.*, Mysore and Coorg.

The Todas regard with some reverence a Hindu temple at Nanjankudi in Mysore, and visit it to pay vows, and there is little doubt that they have done this for a long time. Further, Nòdrs, one of the oldest and most sacred of the Toda villages, is close to the present road from Mysore and may have been near the most convenient route from Mysore in ancient times. I think, however, that, though not recent, the relations with the Hindu temple at Nanjankudi are not of very great antiquity, and I am inclined to ascribe the Toda reverence for it to their association with the Badagas, who almost certainly came from Mysore. I have not been able to find many parallels to Toda customs in Mysore. In one case, however, the resemblance is very close. Among the Gollavalu of Mysore[1] a woman after delivery is turned out into a leaf or mat hut, about 200 yards from the village, and on the fourth day a woman of the village pours water over her. In this case the woman lives in the hut for three months, her husband also living in a special hut. Again, among the Kadu (or forest) Gollas of Mysore[2] the mother and child remain in a small shed outside the village for seven to thirty days.

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The other district which has customs especially resembling those of the Todas is Coorg. Among the people of Coorg cloth-giving appears at one time to have formed the essential marriage ceremony, and there still exist what are called 'cloth-marriages,' in which a man becomes the husband of a woman merely by giving her a cloth. There is also some evidence that polyandry has been practised in Coorg, and I have already referred to the resemblance between the *pursûtpimi* ceremony of the Todas and the Coorg custom of giving a little bow and arrow to a newly born boy. The bow is made of a stick of the castor-oil plant and for the arrow

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Soc.*, Bombay, 1889, vol. i. p. 535.
[2] *Mysore Census Report*, 1901, Pt. i. p. 521.

231 [For the association of buffaloes with Toda funeral rites, see
234 category 116, pp. 174-185.]
782

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

young mother—infanticidal, polyandrous—is sitting on the earthen floor, just within the doorway, enveloped in a mantle of unbleached cotton. On her left arm, snuggling next her bare body, inside the garment, lies something like a comic doll, with long black hair, cream-coloured skin and pink points. The palm of the woman's right hand, uppermost, is directed towards the child. Her body, foreshortened by reason of the lowness of the door. The nut brown gipsy face, all eyes and teeth, just a bit delicate, is upturned towards the visitor: and speaking volumes by look and by attitude of hand, appeals for a present for the one-month-old. The inside of the room—such as remains visible—pitch-dark. There she was, smiling away, little knowing of my groundless suspicions.

A boy is named—peru or pesru or hesru=a name—and his ears are bored some time within about three months of his birth.

The child appears to be kept out of sight until the naming day; when the father, unaccompanied by the mother, takes it, hidden in the folds of his mantle, up to one of the sacred buildings of his Clan: and standing in front of the door, but outside of the surrounding wall, salutes the sanctuary with hand to forehead. Then kneeling on the ground, he for the first time opens out the infant's head to vision, and pressing its little forehead down till it touches the soil, names the child, reciting the following prayer; 'dânenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama;' the meaning of which is: 'Be beneficent: may it be well with the children, the people, the cattle, the calves, and everyone.'[1]

I see now before me, a woman who had accompanied her husband till *within sight* of the building, standing on an eminence, witnessing from a distance, with hand shading

[1] Strictly speaking, the prayer means, 'May it be well with the *male* children, the *men*, the *cows*, the *female* calves'—in fact, all that is useful—'and everyone;' in which latter category are probably included the women and girls.

CHAP. XII.

771 776 action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see, confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

773 They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

771 782 778 They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to any personal God, of whose attributes or power they entertain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[2] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

771 776 I am not prepared to say that these people have actually no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[3] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

[2] See Chapter VIII.

[3] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

CHAP. XVII.

778 627 the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c.

234 782 That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

000 It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor [illegible] pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Kuttan Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Mûsdshyâld	Kêrshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tîrzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

1. Puirtâl	Têrvalth.	
2. Kârzhtith	Kâtêtivâ.	
3. Âr	Kâjva	Kângŭar. Kânj.
4. Têrshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kêrkŏârzh	Musdshyâldf.	
6. Kûramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzâlva	Ândk.
8. Tarâr*	Terpivor Têkva Pêshhva	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kûêrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Pârzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bêtikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ên, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salâm to the rising sun (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâlthchi*, but no one except the *pûjâri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pûjâris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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* Bad. Târnât. *Pl.* vin.

† Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Azārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas? a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris are still expert archers.

The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pūtkuli, tharp, kónu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while driving some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tōr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

As Tekudi came from Tarnâd Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air.

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Târnâd Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotĕn went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi‡ woman, by name Tĕrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotĕn returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotĕn slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring§ and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Tĕrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotĕn and Tĕrkosh, on the Sissapâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Tĕrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotĕn.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, amber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shîma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nirvîn, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotĕn's ring. Nirvîn claims to be a direct descendant of Kotĕn. He professes to have lost the eyes.

‖ Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodâtha, Pûrsh, Kotĕn, and Tĕrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Malaiswaramalê.

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

766 the whole were clad in clean, white, soft-looking mantles, and wore ear-rings and necklaces of gold and silver. A plaintive monotonous wail was sustained while each man arriving passed before and bowed towards the dead man's ashes.

766 All the males, except one or two grey-headed old patriarchs
541 who sat with great dignity a little aside, now danced together in
231 a circle holding hands, the Khota musicians accompanying them with tom-toms and pipes. [1]

782 When this was concluded half-a-dozen young men, evidently selected for their strength and activity, came forward, each carrying a long heavy club made of dark wood and pointed at the thicker end. Having thrown off the usual mantle, they stood in a kind of kilt of thick white cloth, having a red border round the lower edge, or skirt, the upper part of their bodies, as well as the legs, being bare. In this picturesque and most becoming costume they looked exceedingly handsome fellows, models as they were of muscular symmetry. At once advancing towards the cattle enclosure, with all the women and children running after them in the greatest excitement, these combatants leaped in among the buffaloes, the crowd instantly closing round and completely covering the wall, each endeavouring to get as good a view as possible of the coming spectacle.

The buffaloes were, as may be supposed, alarmed by these unusual proceedings, and their alarm became all the greater when the clubmen dancing wildly in their midst commenced striking them with their clubs. When their panic was at its height the men, watching their opportunity, sprang two together on the necks of three of the largest animals simultaneously, seizing them by the horns and nostrils and endeavouring to bear them to the ground, and affix a collar and bell round their necks. This bell is of the kind usually worn by one or more animals in every herd when grazing, and is of the ancient four-sided form, made of a single plate of metal and roughly riveted.

Marvellous was the agility displayed by these gladiators, as we may term them, in avoiding the savage thrusts of the huge sharp-pointed horns and in getting in behind them on to the animal's neck, wrestling in desperate strife as they were borne here and there among the trampling feet, now dashed against the wall, now on the ground.

To escape unhurt in such a combat was impossible, and it was

[1] [Second funeral rites -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Aud60Toda Aud60

not long before we saw one of the men receive a dangerous wound in the neck from the thrust of a horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. He at once became an object of the greatest solicitude among the women, and was led away as a hero to the small tent, where he received every care and attention at their gentle hands.

As, one after another, fresh animals were attacked and borne to the ground with terrific struggles, those already belled and liberated turned on the common enemy, angrily tossing their formidable horns and butting so savagely that, had it not been for the extreme quickness and coolness of these men, some of them must have been killed. Their clubs now swung round and aloft with greater rapidity, and the heavy blows fell thicker and faster, the loud shouts and excited gestures of the male spectators, the exulting *Hau, hau* of the combatants, the weeping and occasional shrieks of the women, the stamping and rushing in the arena, the bellowing of the buffaloes, whose nostrils were covered with blood and foam, and the circling clouds of dust half-hiding the writhing mass, formed a whole more easily pictured in the mind than in words. A bag of the deceased's ashes was now laid at the entrance to the kraal, and the high priest, taking a handful or two of earth, threw some of it on the ashes, and some into the kraal amongst the buffaloes. One of these lay dead in the enclosure, and the rest were one by one led, or rather dragged out to their final doom, struggling violently, and plunging right and left in vain endeavours to escape from their brawny captors, who still clung to their necks. Forced up to a post fixed in the ground, at the foot of which lay the robe, ornaments, and ashes brought from the temple, the battered, bleeding animals were at length despatched there by the high priest's sacrificial axe as an offering to the dead.

Though the women had beheld with interest and excitement the torture of these unfortunate brutes, they now exhibited the greatest grief at their death, sitting and kneeling round the carcases with clasped hands and streaming eyes, addressing them in the most affectionate terms, as "Are you happy?" "Is it well with you?"

The mourners, male and female, next drew near to each other in couples, the man putting out first the right foot and then the left towards the woman he approached, who, dropping on one

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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765 pause ensued, broken eventually by the arrival of the other funeral party, the men advancing in several lines, with arms linked, and crying out U, hah! U, hah, hah! in regular time. This party brought with it pieces of the skulls of a woman and two men, which were placed, wrapt in cloths, on the ground, saluted, and mourned over by the assembled multitude. At this [248] stage a small party of Kotas arrived, and took up their position on a neighbouring hill, waiting, vulture-like, for the carcase of the buffalo which was shortly to be slain. Several young men now went off across the 765 hill in search of buffaloes, and speedily re-appeared, 782 driving five buffaloes before them with sticks. As soon as the beasts approached a swampy marsh at the foot of the hill on which the expectant crowd of men was gathered together, two young men of athletic build, throwing off their putkûlis, made a rush down the hill, and tried to seize one of the buffaloes by the horns, with the result that one of them was promptly thrown. The buffalo escaping, one of the remaining four was quickly caught by the horns, and, with arms interlocked, the men brought it down on its knees, amid a general scuffle. In spite of marked objection and strenuous resistance on the part of the animal—a barren cow—it was, by means of sticks freely applied, slowly dragged up the hill, preceded by the Kota band, and with a Toda youth pulling at its tail. Arrived at the open space between the kraals, the buffalo, by this time thoroughly exasperated, and with blood pouring from its nostrils, had a cloth put on its back, and was despatched by a blow on the poll with an axe deftly wielded by a young and muscular man. On this occasion no one was badly hurt by the sacrificial cow, though one man was seen washing his legs in the swamp after the preliminary struggle with

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the beast. But Colonel Ross-King narrates how he saw a man receive a dangerous wound in the neck from a thrust of the horn, which ripped open a wide gash from the collar-bone to the ear. With the death of the buffalo, the last scene, which terminated the strange rites, commenced; men, women, and children pressing forward and jostling one another in their eagerness to salute the dead beast by placing their hands between its horns, and weeping and mourning in pairs; the facial expression of grief being mimicked when tears refused to flow spontaneously.

The ceremonial connected with the final burning of the relics and burial of the ashes at the stone circle (azaram) are described in detail by Dr. Rivers.

A few days after the ceremony just described, I was invited to be present at the funeral of a young girl who had died of smallpox five days previously. I proceeded accordingly to the scene of the recent ceremony, and there, in company with a small gathering of Todas from the neighbouring mands, awaited the arrival of the funeral cortége, the approach of which was announced by the advancing strains of Kota music. Slowly the procession came over the brow of the hill; the corpse, covered by a cloth, on a rude ladder-like bier, borne on the shoulders of four men, followed by two Kota musicians; the mother carried hidden within a sack; relatives and men carrying bags of rice and jaggery, and bundles of wood of the kiaz tree (*Eugenia Arnottiana*) for the funeral pyre. Arrived opposite a small hut, which had been specially built for the ceremonial, the corpse was removed from the bier, laid on the ground, face upwards, outside the hut, and saluted by men, women, and children, with the same manifestations of grief as on the previous occasion. Soon the men moved away to a short distance, and engaged

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764 in quiet conversation, leaving the females to continue mourning round the corpse, interrupted from time to time by the arrival of detachments from distant mands, whose first duty was to salute the dead body. Meanwhile a near female relative of the dead child was busily engaged inside the hut, collecting together in a basket small measures of rice, jaggery, sago, honey-comb, and the girl's simple toys, which were subsequently to be burned with the corpse. The mourning ceasing after a time, the corpse was placed inside the hut, and followed by the near relatives, who there continued to weep over it.

764 782 A detachment of men and boys, who had set out in search of the buffaloes which were to be sacrificed, now returned driving before them three cows, which escaped from their pursuers to rejoin the main herd. A long pause ensued, and, after a very prolonged drive, three more cows were guided into a marshy swamp, where one of them was caught by the horns, and dragged reluctantly, but with little show of fight, to the strains of Kota drum and flute, in front of the hut, where it was promptly despatched by a blow on the poll. The corpse was now brought from within the hut, and placed, face upwards, with its feet resting on the forehead of the buffalo, whose neck was decorated with a silver [301] chain, such as is worn by Todas round the loins, as no bell was available, and the horns were smeared with butter. Then followed frantic manifestations of grief, amid which the unhappy mother fainted. Mourning

764 588 over, the corpse was made to go through a form of ceremony, resembling that which is performed during pregnancy with the first child. A small boy, three years old, was selected from among the relatives of the dead girl, and taken by his father in search of a certain grass [824] (*Andropogon Schœnanthus*) and a twig of a shrub

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(*Sophora glauca*), which were brought to the spot where the corpse was lying. The mother of the dead child then withdrew one of its hands from the putkūli, and the boy placed the grass and twig in the hand, and limes, plantains, rice, jaggery, honey-comb, and butter in the pocket of the putkūli, which was then stitched with needle and thread in a circular pattern. The boy's father then took off his son's putkūli, and replaced it so as to cover him from head to foot. Thus covered, the boy remained outside the hut till the morning of the morrow, watched through the night by near relatives of himself and his dead bride. [On the occasion of the funeral of an unmarried lad, a girl is in like manner selected, covered with her putkūli from head to foot, and a metal vessel filled with jaggery, rice, etc., to be subsequently burnt on the funeral pyre, placed for a short time within the folds of the putkūli. Thus covered, the girl remains till next morning, watched through the dreary hours of the night by relatives. The same ceremony is performed over the corpse of a married woman who has not borne children, the husband acting as such for the last time, in the vain hope that the woman may produce issue in heaven.] The corpse was borne away to the burning-ground within the shola, and, after removal of some of the hair by the mother of the newly wedded boy, burned, with face upwards, amid the music of the Kota band, the groans of the assembled crowd squatting on the ground, and the genuine grief of the nearest relatives. The burning concluded, a portion of the skull was removed from the ashes, and handed over to the recently made mother-in-law of the dead girl, and wrapped up with the hair in the bark of the tūd tree (*Meliosma pungens*). A second buffalo, which, properly speaking, should have been slain before

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764 the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and
●[782] jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother
[765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of
[293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife.
[576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkūli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkūli of the corpse;

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(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghI with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkûli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron, 764 782 764 [535] [531]

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766 the head of the corpse, dug a hole in the ground with a cane, and asked a Kenna who was standing on the other side, "Puzhut, Kenna," * shall I throw the earth?—three times. To which the Kenna, answering, replied "Puzhut" —throw the earth—thrice. The Paiki then threw some earth three times over the corpse, and three times into the miniature kraal. It is suggested by Dr. Rivers that the circle was made to do duty for a buffalo pen, as the funeral was held at a place where there was no tu (pen), from the entrance of which earth could be dug up.

764 533 Several examples of laments relating to the virtues and life of the deceased, which are sung or recited in the course of the funeral ceremonies, are given by Dr. Rivers. On the occasion of the reproduction of a lament in my phonograph, two young women were seen to be crying bitterly. The selection of the particular lament was [123] unfortunate, as it had been sung at their father's funeral. The reproduction of the recitation of a dead person's sins at a Badaga funeral quickly restored them to a state of cheerfulness.

648 764 782 The following petition to the Collector of the Nilgiris on the subject of buffalo sacrifice may be quoted as a sign of the times, when the Todas employ petition-writers to express their grievances:—

"According to our religious custom for the long period, we are bringing forward of our killing buffaloes without any irregular way. But, in last year, when the late Collector came to see the said place, by that he ordered to the Todas first not to keep the buffaloes without feeding in the kraal, and second he ordered to kill each for every day, and to clear away the buffaloes, and not to keep the buffaloes without food.

* "Puzhuthina—Shall I throw earth?" Rivers.

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We did our work according to his orders, and this excellent order was an ample one. Now this ———, a chief of the Todas, son of———, a deceased Toda, the above man joined with the moniagar of ——— village, joined together, and, dealing with bribes, now they arose against us, and doing this great troubles on us, and also, by this great trouble, one day Mr. ——— came for shooting snapes (snipe) by that side. By chance one grazing buffalo came to him, push him by his horns very forcely, and wounded him on his leg. By the help of another gentleman who came with him he escaped, or he would have die at the moment. Now the said moniagar and ——— joined together, want to finish the funeral to his late father on the 18th instant. For this purpose they are going to shut the buffaloes without food in the kraal on the 18th instant at 10 o'clock. They are going to kill the buffaloes on the 19th instant at 4 o'clock in the evening. But this is a great sin against god. But we beg your honour this way. That is, let them leave the buffaloes in the grazing place, and ask them to catch and kill them at the same moment. And also your honour cannot ordered them to keep them in the kraal without food. And, if they will desire to kill the buffaloes in this way, these buffaloes will come on us, and also on the other peoples one who, coming to see funs on those day, will kill them all by his anxious. And so we the Todas begs your honour to enquire them before the 18th, the said funeral ceremony commencing, and not to grant the above orders to them."

A Whit Monday at Paikâra was given up to an exhibition of sports and games, whereof the most exciting and interesting was a burlesque representation of a Toda funeral by boys and girls. A Toda, who was

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etc. Writing in 1872, Mr. Breeks remarked that "about Ootacamund, a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Siva spot, and my particular friend Kinniaven, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Siva at Nanjengudi." A man who came to my laboratory had his hair hanging down in long tails reaching below his shoulders. He had, he said, let it grow long because his wife, though married five years, had borne no child. A child had, however, recently been born, and, as soon as the second funeral of a relation had been performed, he was going to sacrifice his locks as a thank-offering at the Nanjengōd temple. The following extracts from my notes will serve to illustrate the practice of marking (in some instances apparently for beauty's sake) and shaving as carried out at the present day.

(1) Man, aged 28. Has just performed a ceremony at the ti mand. White curved line painted across forehead, and dots below outer ends thereof, on glabella, and outside orbits. Smeared with white across chest, over outer side of upper arms and left nipple, across knuckles and lower end of left ulna, and on lobes of ears.

(2) Man, aged 21. Painted on forehead as above. Smeared over chest and upper eye lids.

(3) Man, aged 35. White spot painted on forehead.

(4) Man, aged 30. Hair of head and beard cut short owing to death of grandfather.

(5) Boy, aged 12. Shock head of hair, cut very short all over owing to death of grandfather.

(6) Girl, aged 8. Hair shaved on top, back and sides of head, and in median strip from vertex to forehead.

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has been baptized, will not be readmitted to the tribe. Children born in the Christian community are not admitted to the tribe; the reason given is that they are not legitimate, since no toy bow and arrow has been given for them, and so they cannot be fitted into the tribal social structure. [alc] (3, Ultz), his wife [sirmul] (30, Sirmul) and their children attempted to return to the tribe; only the man was received.

Blood and affinal relationships within the tribe involve each member of the tribe in a network of rights and obligations. At a funeral, for example, certain people related to the dead person must provide buffaloes to be slaughtered, and every man in the tribe has obligations of this sort which he will sooner or later have to meet, while on the other hand when he dies it will be obligatory on others to provide buffaloes for his funeral. It is felt by the tribe that the Christian Todas still have obligations of this sort towards their relatives in the tribe. Though the missionaries object to the obligations being met for funerals, the slaughter being based on a non-Christian attitude towards a future life, it has happened on several occasions that the Christians have met their obligations, either willingly or unwillingly. [kerxuuɪʀ] (63, Kergudr) provided a buffalo for the funeral of his father [kanuɪs] (Kaners); I do not know whether this was voluntary on his part or not. In the case of [kanfuɪsodj] however my notes are more complete. When he was a recent convert, on two occasions he provided buffaloes for classificatory brothers, [punog] (14, Punog) and [kiškeɪn] (14, Küshken). He says that he thought it best to follow the tribal rules and to yield to the insistence of the tribal council. Recently, however, [nertnuɪs] (24, Nertiners) died, who had married [paɪuniʒfiɪj] (14, Poidjveli), the classificatory sister of [kanfuɪsodj]. Her brother [noɪnmuʀj] (Nonmudri) and [kanfuɪsodj] were the only surviving affines of [nertnuɪs] who could be called on to provide a buffalo for the funeral; according to the present regulations they should have provided one buffalo between them. [noɪnmuʀj] had no buffaloes. One of the animals belonging to [kanfuɪsodj] was at a tribal pasture under the care of [idjoɪn] (20, son of [teɪpax]). This was seized and slaughtered at the funeral in spite of protests by [kanfuɪsodj]. It was finally arranged by the tribal council that [noɪnmuʀj] should pay to [kanfuɪsodj] half the value of the buffalo.

Other obligations are found on the occasion of a woman's first marriage. Her husband gives to her father his best buffalo or two buffaloes, and five rupees; these are the [kökuuɪlj] "bribe." He also makes a feast for all the Todas. The father then gives the husband [anpuɪn] "dowry," *i.e.* a number of buffaloes, at least twice as many as the "bribe," plus one, *i.e.* three if the "bribe" was one, five if it was two.

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Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the tö:uθu:t and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (tu:t) which are gods (tö:u)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. tö:kiŋ created most of the Toda institutions at the mund no:ŋ and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these tö:uθu:t are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The tö:uno:ŋ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localised at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the tö:uno:ŋ and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as a:ŋ as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is no:ŋ "sacred place." Within the no:ŋ it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ŋ itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as tö:u "god" or no:ŋ "sacred place" or tö:uno:ŋ, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

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worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by nörnmṣ (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son ayjar; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a tōu and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief alreay mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is so:mj (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit svāmin), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by kimmṣ (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274–290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies; the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known: